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ABSTRACT

A study of "causal" communication, the communication of attribution-related information, investigated the relationship of exposure to mass media (especially film) depictions of Vietnam veterans to perceived causes for the problems facing a number of Vietnam veterans. The study further extends attribution theory to social interaction and communication contexts. A sample survey of 355 adults (age 18 and over) in the Milwaukee metropolitan area was conducted by telephone in April 1988. A content analysis found some mass media and interpersonal communication relationships with internal and external attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems. Attributions for the cause of a problem do seem related to preferred solutions. It appears that interpersonal communication could be affecting attributions. Mass communication may also be affecting attributional schemata under certain circumstances. Results indicated the impact of experience on media relationships with attributions was more complex than anticipated. There may still be enough uncertainty about how to deal with the memory of the Vietnam War, and with its veterans, that even the more experienced might still be seeking attributions. (Four tables of data are included, and 41 references are attached.) (MG)

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"CAUSAL" COMMUNICATION: MEDIA PORTRAYALS AND PUBLIC ATTRIBUTIONS FOR VIETNAM VETERANS' PROBLEMS

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"CAUSAL" COMMUNICATION: MEDIA PORTRAYALS AND
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ABSTRACT

A study of "causal" communication, the communication of attribution-related information, was conducted to investigate the relation of exposure to mass media, especially film, depictions of Vietnam veterans to perceived causes for the problems facing a number of Vietnam veterans. The study further extends attribution theory to social interaction and communication contexts. A survey and content analysis found some mass media and interpersonal communication relationships with internal and external attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems.

"CAUSAL" COMMUNICATION: MEDIA PORTRAYALS AND
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There has been increased public attention lately to the Vietnam War and the post-war problems some Vietnam veterans have faced. University courses about the Vietnam War have become popular with many students (Spector, 1986), and number about 400 nationwide (New York Times Service, 1988). The unique, V-shaped Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., has become a major tourist attraction, second only to the Lincoln Memorial (Auster and Quart, 1988), and seems to draw some attention to the human costs of war. In addition, there are an increasing number of popular films and television shows that deal with the war in Vietnam. The news media also seem to be giving some attention to some Vietnam veterans' problems.

A national survey conducted by the Harris organization for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs (1980) of the U.S. House of Representatives found at the time that Vietnam veterans believed that television news stories gave the public an unflattering picture of them, and that because of media coverage the public is less willing to support government programs to assist these veterans. Similar feelings by Vietnam veterans were discovered by Adams (1977). The Harris survey also found that the public, in contrast to the Vietnam veterans, believed that television news stories have given them favorable images of these veterans, and has made them more favorable toward government programs designed to help the veterans who served in the Vietnam War. In a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the Vietnam War and its veterans during the period of the war, Patterson (1982) found that the three major publications he analyzed presented favorable depictions of the veterans. Patterson (1984) further recommends that research continue into the media's role in Vietnam, and its relationship to public opinion about the war and its veterans.

Similarly, the Harris survey asked the public and the veterans about their reactions to the various films which had been made about the Vietnam War and its veterans, as of that time. Both groups said they believed that most of these films presented a fairly realistic picture of the violence of the war. Some films (e.g., "Coming Home" and "The Green Berets") were seen as presenting relatively favorable impressions of the veterans of the Vietnam War, while some others (e.g., "Apocalypse Now" and "The Deer Hunter") were perceived as presenting less favorable images. The Harris analysis notes that:

> "It is interesting that two movies regarded ... as painting favorable pictures of these veterans are The Green Berets and Coming Home, two films which share little in terms of their approach or the sympathies of their starring actors. This suggests that public evaluations of whether a particular film represents veterans of this conflict favorably or unfavorably are associated with at least two dimensions: the traditional kind of military heroism so well portrayed by John Wayne, and a heroism of a different sort epitomized by the performances of Jon Voight and Jane Fonda. This is another indication of the mixed feelings that the public has about this war, and about what, in that setting, constituted commitment to duty."

In a critical/historical analysis, Auster and Quart (1988) note an evolution in film portrayals of wounded Vietnam veterans, from dangerous and destructive in the 1970s to more realistic 1980s portrayals of the veteran as "a person in need of compassion and empathy" and as a survivor whose "psychic and physical wounds seemed more a source of moral strength and courage than scars that elicited pity." The authors suggest that this evolution took place because audiences had finally become "ready to confront the painful reality of the Vietnam War directly on the screen." There has not as yet, however, been any systematic content analysis of films related to the Vietnam War, nor any scientific study that relates exposure to these films to public perceptions of Vietnam veterans.

The 1980 Harris survey also found that the public appeared to have separated the warrior from the war. The public, while considering the Vietnam War a mistake, generally did not hold the veteran responsible for that war. The public, according to the survey, tends not to perceive veterans who served in the military during the Vietnam War as much different from their peers, except for their military service. The public tends to attribute to the war experience various psychological, drug and alcohol use problems, and physical impairments, that face a number of Vietnam veterans. However, most people perceive that the serious employment problems facing Vietnam veterans are not attributable to their war experience.

By applying attribution theory, our study will investigate the relationship between the public's attribution for the problems facing many Vietnam veterans and exposure to mass media, in particular film depictions of the Vietnam War and its veterans. We will also look at the relationship between these attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems and attitudes for or against more government help for Vietnam veterans.

Attribution

Attribution theory deals with the processes by which people give causal interpretations to the events in their environment, what the interpretations are, and the consequences of these interpretations (Folkes, 1988). Most attribution research is concerned with how people explain human behavior, their own or others', and is based on the ideas of Heider (1958), who found value in investigating the way in which individuals use "naive psychology" to account for what they observe.[1] This analysis of action is seen as naive since people may rationally diagnose and even test their notions of causality in ways similar to the way scientists test theories, but the analyses are prone to error since they are not developed through scientific standards of conceptualization and testing.

A fundamental precept proposed by Heider, and developed by Kelley (1972a), is that people use various principles, such as covariation of cause and effect, in developing causal inferences. These processes are in many ways similar to scientific procedures such as analysis of variance. For example, Kelley (1973) proposes that individuals consider patterns of behavior that occur within and across persons, within and across situations, and across time in making judgments about the causes of behavior.

Over time and with experience, Kelley (1973) observes, people develop causal schemata which allow them to make causal attributions with only limited information, based on "an assumed pattern of data in a complete analysis of variance framework." In explaining the function of an attributional causal schema in information processing, Kelley (1972a, 1973) observes that:

> "[A causal schema] is a conception of the manner in which two or more causal factors interact in relation to a [given] effect. A schema is derived from experience in observing cause and effect relationships, from experiments in which deliberate control has been exercised over causal factors, and from implicit and explicit teachings about the causal structure of the world .... The mature individual ... has a repertoire of [such] abstract ideas about the operation and interaction of causal factors. These conceptions [enable the person to make] economical and fast attributional analysis, by providing a framework within which bits and pieces of relevant information can be fitted in order to draw reasonably good causal inferences."

Thus, as Graber (1988) notes, schemata help people fill-in informational gaps, so individuals can make sense of incomplete communication; they help people determine what information will be noticed, processed, and stored in memory; they help individuals organize new information so it fits into established patterns; and schemata help people solve problems by containing information about likely scenarios and ways to deal with them. In regard to the latter, a common finding in attribution research is that people base their preferences for the proper solutions to at least some kinds of problems on their perceptions of what caused the trouble (Didier 1987; Folkes 1988). For example, Belk

et al. (1981) found that those who attributed the energy crisis to the actions of the oil companies preferred that the government put pressure on the oil companies as a means of solving the energy situation, whereas those who believed that the oil consuming habits of the public were at fault felt that the energy problem should be solved by voluntary conservation by the public.

In dealing with the causes for human behavior, attribution theorists since Heider (1958) have drawn a fundamental distinction between "internal" attributions and "external" attributions. As Hamilton (1979) notes, internal attributions explain the actor's behavior as caused by his or her dispositions, abilities, and motivational states. External attributions explain behavior in terms of the situational forces that influence the actor. For example, a student's failure in a course could be attributed to internal factors (e.g., lack of ability or motivation to perform) or to external factors (e.g., tough course, poor instructor). People tend to "discount" the role of a given cause, Kelley (1972b) proposes, if other plausible causes are present. Thus, for example, a gain in external attribution for a behavior would likely diminish the attribution of that behavior to internal causes. It is possible, however, that people sometimes prefer to think in terms of multiple, conjunctive causes for events (see Leddo et al., 1984; Harvey and Weary, 1984).

One error that people commonly make is termed the "fundamental attribution error" of overestimating the internal causes of behavior. This error occurs, Hamilton (1979) explains, "even when quite reasonable explanations in terms of situational factors are readily available. Empirical support for this phenomenon has been obtained in a number of studies (e.g., Jones and Harris, 1967)." Another common error is termed the "actor-observer bias" (Jones and Nisbett, 1972), which is a distinct tendency for the observer to attribute the actor's behavior to internal causes, while the actor is more inclined to attribute the same behavior to external causes. If an observer acquires more empathy for an

actor in a situation, however, the observer's attributions for the actor's behavior have been found to converge with those of the actor, that is, become more situational (Regan and Totten, 1975). People are also more inclined to take more causal responsibility for the positive outcomes of their behavior than for the negative (Harvey and Weary, 1984). These and other attribution-related processes have been traced in the literature to a variety of motivational (e.g., self-esteem, control), perceptual (e.g., salience, imagery) and cognitive (e.g., schema) theories (see Harvey and Weary, 1984).

Attribution theory can be applied to social stereotypes as well. Hamilton (1979) proposes that social stereotypes held by individuals are attribution-related schema which govern information processing and affect attributions people make for the actions of members of identified social groups. He proposes that stereotypes are expectations individuals hold about the dispositional characteristics of members of a particular group. Behaviors performed by members of that group which are inconsistent with the stereotype can be attributed to external factors, thus preserving the stereotype. Ingroup-outgroup distinctions also affect this process, as ingroup members have been found, in one Indian study, to attribute desirable actions of members of their own group to internal causes and undesirable actions to external causes. In contrast, ingroup members tend to attribute desirable actions of members of the other group to external causes, and undesirable actions to internal causes (Taylor and Jaggi, 1974; Hamilton, 1979).

Among the criticisms of attribution research (e.g., Crittenden, 1983) is that relatively little of it has been conducted outside the laboratory. In a review of research conducted both within and outside the laboratory, Weiner (1985) determined that people do make spontaneous attributional statements even when not prodded by experimenters. Search for causality occurs, he says, in the wake of unexpected events and nonattainment of goals. Some studies (e.g.,

Lau and Russell, 1980; Lau, 1984) have found such attributional activity in sports news and other newspaper content (Weiner, 1985).

Other criticisms of attribution theory, Crittenden (1983) notes, are that it may have limited applicability to attribution occurring in natural contexts or in human interaction, and that it ignores the impact of communication processes. She notes that attribution theory shares many assumptions with symbolic interactionism and the construction of social reality. Building on work by Prus (1975) and others, Crittenden observes that:

> "Attribution theory conceives attribution as an intrapersonal, cognitive process. By contrast, symbolic interactionism sees attribution as an intrinsically social activity, part of an ongoing process of reality construction in which the meaning of events is negotiated through the course of interaction, and in which individual interpretations are constrained by the social context .... Persons interpret events by means of the systems of meanings they have acquired through interaction. Meanings are exchanged, negotiated, and modified through communication."

She recommends that, in addition to continuing laboratory research, attribution theorists expand their efforts into natural settings.

Attribution and Communication

Two studies shed some light on communication and attribution processes. The first deals with interpersonal communication, and the second with mass media. Orvis et al. (1976) conducted field research into conflicts young couples have over attributions for each others' behavior, and addressed the need for further research into what they termed causal communication. While the researchers did not directly investigate the couple's conversations, they found evidence that attributions each member of the couple had for the other's behavior contained explanations that must have been communicated and not just inferred from observation. They suggest that attributions are motivated not by a desire for some abstract understanding of the world, but through processes based on the social context of justification of self and criticism of others.

They call for further research into attribution and communication, and state that they believe "it will be necessary to deal with perception and communication as inseparable processes and, particularly, to view them in the context of relationship-maintaining processes."

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) applied attribution theory to mass communication through a series of experiments they conducted on television influences on "priming," or the extent to which people consider what comes to mind most readily when they evaluate complex objects, ignoring other knowledge which is less mentally accessible. They found that news that interprets events as though they were the result of the president's actions influences the judgments people make of presidential performance. "When television discounts the president's role," they state, "so, too, do viewers; when coverage augments the president's role, viewers do so as well." Iyengar and Kinder found that uncertainty can amplify these effects, since the relationship between media attributional presentations and audience cognitions was stronger in regard to issues (such as energy) for which public may be quite unsure as to causes and cures. "In the face of novelty and uncertainty," they suggest, "viewers may be substantially swayed by the way television news assigns responsibility."

Based on her study of the relationships of news media presentations to the development of audience schemata, Graber (1988) notes that, while there is no "hypodermic" effect on the public, the media:

> "make major contributions to schema formation and development by providing the public with partially preprocessed information in various domains of knowledge and by signalling the relative importance of stories. This information is particularly pervasive in the areas where people have few chances to acquire information through personal sources. Ease of access to nonmedia sources varies, of course. People whose access is limited and whose schemata are not well-developed are, therefore, more susceptible to media influence whenever they are exposed to media stories."

It is certainly possible that media content other than news could affect the perceptions (stereotyped or otherwise) that people have regarding groups in society (see, for example, Perloff, 1986) such as Vietnam veterans. Exposure to television and movie depictions of members of this group could lead to attribution-related priming, which could affect judgments made of Vietnam veterans in real life.[2] It also seems likely that such media effects might be more pronounced among those with less experience in regard to the Vietnam war and its veterans, since their schemata concerning these matters are probably less well developed than the schemata of those with more experience in these matters. The less experienced are also likely to have fewer alternative personal sources of information about the Vietnam war and its veterans than do those who have more experience. Overall, there is likely to be some influence of media depictions of Vietnam veterans on attributional schemata, since the social system still appears to be dealing with some uncertainty about how to deal with these people and the war-related problems many of them still face. Interpersonal discussions with Vietnam veterans could also affect attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems by providing an alternative information source. If these discussions are with close friends and relatives who are Vietnam veterans, it is possible that empathic processes could result in the development of external attributions for problems facing many Vietnam veterans.

HYPOTHESES

I. The first research question is: What is the relationship between attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems and preferred solutions to those problems? Since attribution theory proposes that the solutions people prefer for a problem are related to the perceived causes of the problem (Didier, 1987), we suggest:

H1a: The stronger the external (war) attribution for problems of Vietnam veterans, the more likely the preference for more government help for Vietnam veterans;

H1b: The stronger the internal (dispositional) attribution for problems of Vietnam veterans, the more likely the preference for Vietnam veterans helping themselves more.

Support of these hypotheses would also help validate the measurement of internal and external attribution used in this study.

II. The second research question is: What is the relationship between interpersonal communication with Vietnam veterans about their service experiences and attribution for problems of Vietnam veterans? Since discussions with Vietnam veterans, especially those who are relatives or close friends [3], about their service experiences could give insight into external factors which can cause problems among some Vietnam veterans, and involve empathic processes, we expect that:

H2a: There will be a positive relationship between discussions with Vietnam veterans about their service experiences and external attributions for problems of Vietnam veterans.

H2b: There will be a negative relationship between discussions with Vietnam veterans about their service experiences and internal attributions for problems of Vietnam veterans.

III. The third research question is: What is the relationship of mass media exposure, especially in regard to depictions of Vietnam war experiences, to attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems? Provided that mass media content that accentuates the effects of war on its participants (external attribution content) could influence the extent to which audiences perceive the problems of veterans as caused by external (war-related) or internal (dispositional) forces, we propose:

H3a: There will be a positive relationship between exposure to those Vietnam war-related motion pictures that stress external attribution and audience external attribution for problems of Vietnam war veterans.

> H3b: There will be a negative relationship between exposure to those Vietnam war-related motion pictures that stress external attribution and audience internal attribution for problems of Vietnam war veterans.

Since content that, conversely, stresses the soldier's role as influencing the events of war (internal attribution content) may lessen perceptions of external attribution for veterans' problems, we propose that:

> H3c: There will be a negative relationship between exposure to Vietnam war-related films that stress internal attribution and audience external attribution for problems of Vietnam war veterans.

Since the most direct relationship is proposed in H3a, we expect it to be the strongest. It is also possible for there to be a positive relationship between exposure to films that stress internal attribution content and audience perceptions of internal attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems, but the relationship is of only secondary interest in this analysis.

IV. The fourth research question is: What impact does personal experience have on the effects of mass media depictions on audience perceptions? Since mass media effects in regard to a particular topic should me more pronounced among those with less experience with that topic, we expect that:

> H4: The relationships of attributional content in Vietnam-war related mass media with attributional perceptions will be stronger among those with less experience with the Vietnam war and its veterans than among those with more experience.

It should be noted that the hypotheses H2-H4 above involve correlational relationships (although they will be controlled by relevant third variables), while the propositions underlying the relationships are causal.

METHOD

A sample survey of 355 adults (age 18 and over) in the Milwaukee metropolitan area was conducted by telephone in April 1988. The sample was generated by the "add-a-digit" system, adding one to numbers chosen randomly from the telephone directory white pages (Frey 1983). Only respondents in private residences were interviewed. Selection of respondents within residences was based on the Troldahl and Carter (1964) system, which identifies respondents based on the number and sex of adults in the household. Interviews took approximately 15 minutes, and were conducted by advanced undergraduate students in a Communication in Society course, who received training in surveys and interviewing. Interviews were validated by random callbacks.

Measurement

Dependent Variables. External attributions for problems facing Vietnam veterans were measured by asking respondents the following:

> "Now I'd like to name some problems which many veterans who served in Vietnam say they have had since leaving the service. For each one, please tell me whether you believe their military service in Vietnam contributed to that problem a lot, some, a little, or not at all."

This measure is similar to one used in the Louis Harris and Associates study (Committee on Veterans' Affairs 1980), and is designed for this study to measure just external attributions for problems based on service in Vietnam. Other external attributions (e.g., based on receptions given Vietnam veterans upon their return to the United States) are not included directly in this measure. Respondents were asked to rate five problems, chosen and adapted from the Harris study: problems finding a job; problems keeping a job; mental or emotional problems; problems with drugs or alcohol; and family problems with spouse.

To measure internal attributions for these problems, respondents were then asked:

> "Now I'd like to read you again the same list of problems that Vietnam veterans say they are having. For each one, please tell me whether you believe the veterans' own personal characteristics, quite apart from their war experience, have contributed to that problem a lot, some, a little, or not at all."

Interviewers were told to explain to respondents who asked for clarification that "personal characteristics would be their personalities and traits, in other words, the kinds of people they would have been regardless of whether they had been in the Vietnam War."

Factor analysis of the five external and five internal attribution measures (Table 1) produced two factors: internal attribution and external attribution. Scales for each factor were computed, using factor score coefficients. Reliability of the scales (Theta) is .83, based on the method for determining the reliability of factor analytic scales described by Carmines and Zeller (1979).[4] The two independent factors support the contention of Leddo et al. (1984) that people can sometimes hold, and even prefer, conjunctive explanations for behavior. This result also indicates that the "discounting" assumption that underlies hypotheses H2b, H3b and H3c will need further examination and modification, based on the outcome of further analysis. Individual item means reflect the Harris survey finding that people are less likely to attribute Vietnam veterans' job problems to the war than some other (e.g., emotional, drugs and alcohol) problems.

Attitudes toward government assistance to Vietnam veterans were measured on five-point Likert scales. The items are: "The federal government should be doing more to help veterans of the Vietnam war," which is similar to an item in the Harris survey, and "Vietnam veterans should be doing more to help themselves." These measures correlate $r=-.11$, $p<.05$ with each other, and are kept

separate in the analysis.

Control Variables. Each respondent's education, income, sex, political philosophy, Vietnam experience, exposure to news, and exposure to Vietnam-related television series (currently airing) were measured and used as control variables in the analysis. While the literature revealed no previously tested relationships between attributions and education, income, political philosophy, and sex, we felt it wise to include these as control variables, if only for purposes of exploration and analytical caution. It is possible that political liberalism could produce external attributions for the problems of disadvantaged groups, and that education could result in greater awareness of social forces that operate on individuals. It is also possible that those with lower income might empathize a bit more with Vietnam veterans, especially combat veterans, a disproportionate number of whom came from lower income social strata (Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 1980). We had no expectations regarding sex relationships with attribution. Similarly, we controlled for exposure to news and to Vietnam-related television series, since they represent additional sources of information about Vietnam veterans and their problems.

Education was measured on a 9-point scale that ranged from "no formal education" to "postgraduate" education. Income was measured according to total household income in 1987 [5], and correlates $r=.28$, $p<.001$ with education. Political philosophy was assessed with a 7-point scale of liberalism/conservatism.

Vietnam experience was measured by combining three variables: 1) whether or not the respondent is a member of the "Vietnam Generation" (33-45 years of age) [6]; the extent of agreement or disagreement, on a five-point Likert scale, with the attitude item "The Vietnam War had an effect on my life," and 3) a measure of direct or indirect personal exposure to the Vietnam War. The personal exposure measure was based on a series of questions that formed an

eight-point scale such that Vietnam combat veterans get the highest scale value and individuals who have no military experience and do not have any close friends or relatives who served in the military at the time of the war are at the other end of the scale. Other, interim levels of personal exposure (e.g., served in the military during the Vietnam War, but not in Vietnam, or had a close friend or relative who served in Vietnam) fell at other points in the scale.[7] The three measures were standardized and factor analyzed, with one factor emerging. Scores on the resulting Vietnam experience scale were created by weighing the component items by their factor score coefficients. Reliability (theta) is .58.

A two-level (high versus low) version of the Vietnam experience variable was also created by breaking the standardized scale such that those scoring above zero are "high," and those scoring at zero or below are "low." This version of the variable is used in analyses where Vietnam experience is a contingent condition for relationships between communication and attribution.

News exposure was measured by three variables: 1) the frequency of reading national news in a newspaper, 2) the frequency of watching national news programs, and 3) the number of news magazines read regularly. These three measures were standardized and factor analyzed, with one factor emerging. Scores on the resulting news exposure scale were created by weighing the component items by their factor score coefficients. Reliability (theta) is .47.

Exposure to currently-airing, Vietnam-related television series was based on the frequency of viewing the television shows "Tour of Duty" and "M*A*S*H." While the latter deals with the Korean War, the show became popular during the Vietnam War. M*A*S*H was on local television in weeknight reruns at the time of the interviews. Both series tend to portray the effects of war on those who must fight it. The series "China Beach" was just beginning at the time of the survey, and so was not included in the study. Reliability of the combined

measure is low (Alpha =.14).[8]

Independent Variables. The communication variables of discussions with close friends or relatives who are Vietnam veterans and exposure to Vietnam-related movies were used as primary independent variables in the study.

Discussions with close friends or relatives who are Vietnam veterans were measured by a question that asked respondents "How often do you talk with them about their military experience? Would you say frequently, sometimes, rarely, or never?" Respondents who reported that they had no close friends or relatives who are U.S. military veterans who served in Vietnam during the Vietnam War were not asked the question, but instead coded in the analysis as though they answered "never."[9]

Exposure to Vietnam-related motion pictures was measured by first presenting respondents with a list of Vietnam War related movies, many of which have appeared on television. Measurement was based on whether the respondent had seen each movie more than once (2), once (1), or not at all (0). Respondents then rated the realism of each of the movies they had seen, on a scale of very realistic (2), somewhat realistic (1), or not very realistic (0). Interviewers defined realism for respondents as the extent to which the film seemed to show the kinds of things that could or actually did happen.

To assess the extent to which the motion pictures depicted Vietnam veterans as affected by their war experience, we conducted a content analysis of the 13 more popular Vietnam War films, as determined by respondents' exposure to films of this genre.[10] Two coders independently viewed videotaped versions of the more popular films, and separately rated each film according to the following characteristics of the main character [11] in each film:

1) External-Internal Attribution (Content)--External attribution was measured, on a 0-5 scale, as the extent to which the character's behavior is based on an attempt to cope with, or is controlled or strongly influenced by, circumstances

he or she encountered related to the Vietnam War. Internal attribution was measured separately, on a 0-5 scale, as the extent to which the character takes control of, or causes events to occur in, situations he or she encountered related to the Vietnam War. A single measure of External-Internal Attribution (Content) was derived by subtracting the Internal attribution score from the External attribution score. This measure produced an 11-point scale, ranging from +5 (External attribution much stronger than Internal) to -5 (Internal attribution much stronger than External). Intercoder reliability on this scale (Pearson r) is .94.

2) Change--Change is the extent to which the film directly shows the character as changed from before to after some ordeal or event in the Vietnam War. This variable is designed to tap into depictions of cause-effect in the plot of the film, and was designed to be a stronger measure of external attribution. It is measured on a scale of 0 (not at all) to 5 (a lot). Intercoder reliability (Pearson r) is .89. Change correlates moderately well ($r=.50$, $p<.05$) with the External-Internal Attribution (Content) scale.

Coders also assessed each film according to the character's typicality, which is the extent to which the character is depicted as a rather common or average member of the Vietnam generation. It is measured on a scale of not typical (0) to very typical (5). Intercoder reliability (Pearson r) is .81. Typicality correlates highly ($r=.86$, $p<.001$) with the average level of perceived realism respondents gave each film. Coders' ratings for each of these content variables were averaged to compute scores.

To develop a classification scheme for the films, two variables were considered: External-Internal Attribution (Content) and whether or not the film devoted significant footage to showing veterans back in the United States after their Vietnam War experience. While the latter variable did not enter into our stated hypotheses, we thought that scenes showing veterans at home after a war

experience might further affect viewers' causal (before-after) judgments, and so included this dimension in the scheme for exploratory reasons. Coders had complete agreement on the latter measure, which classified those films which depict veterans at home after the war as "Home" films (even if the movies show Vietnam war footage), and the remainder as "War" films. For purposes of the film classification scheme, the External-Internal Attribution (Content) variable was collapsed such that films with positive (higher external) values were put into the category of "External" films, and those with negative (higher internal) values were put into the "Internal" film category. There were no zero-value (tie between extenal and internal values) films in this analysis. There is complete intercoder agreement when the scale is collapsed in this manner.

The four categories of Vietnam War films that emerge from this scheme (see Table 2) are External/War ("Platoon," "Full Metal Jacket," and "Good Morning, Vietnam"), External/Home ("Heroes" and "Coming Home"), Internal/War (the three "Missing in Action" films, "Rambo: First Blood Part II," "Apocalypse Now," and "The Green Berets"), and Internal/Home ("First Blood" and "The Deer Hunter"). Differences in other content variables seem to be imbedded in these content categories. In particular, the External/War category has a set of films that tend to rate highly in showing change in the main character from before to after some Vietnam war experience. This category also tends to have main characters rated among the most typical or representative of the Vietnam generation, and tends to have films rated by respondents, on the average, as among the most realistic. The films are also among the most recent.

Respondent exposure to each of these four film types was measured by averaging the exposure he or she had to the films that comprised each category. Reliability of the External/War exposure scale (alpha) is .53, of the External/Home scale .43, of the Internal/War scale .79, and of the Internal/Home

scale .51.[12]

Statistical Analysis

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used to analyze the data. Pearson correlation coefficients were used to find the relationships proposed in H1a and H1b. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses, with list-wise deletion of missing data, were used to determine the relationship of communication variables to the attributional dependent variables (H2 through H4). Variables were standardized prior to analysis. The demographic/background control variables of Vietnam experience, education, income, political philosophy, and sex were entered as a first block. The more general news exposure variable was entered as the second block, prior to the more Vietnam-specific content variables. Exposure to Vietnam-related television series was entered as the third block, prior to the variables used to test hypotheses. The discussions variable was entered as the fourth block, and the four Vietnam movie exposure scales were entered as the final block. Analyses were conducted overall, as well as for high experience and low experience subsamples.

One-tailed tests of statistical significance were used in testing directional hypotheses. Two-tailed tests were used otherwise.

RESULTS

Problem Solutions

The first research question concerned the relationship between attribution for Vietnam veterans' problems and preferred solutions to those problems. Table 3 indicates that, in support of H1a, there is a statistically significant positive relationship ($r=.36$, $p<.001$) between external (war) attribution for the problems facing some Vietnam veterans and respondents' preference for more government help for Vietnam veterans. In addition, the relationship between external attribution and the attitude that these veterans should be doing more to help themselves is negative ($r=-.12$, $p<.05$). Hypothesis H1b is also supported, although weakly, by a positive relationship ($r=.11$, $p<.05$) between internal attribution and the attitude that the veterans should be doing more to help themselves. There is no significant relationship between internal attribution and the attitude toward more government help for Vietnam veterans.

Overall, there is some support in Table 3 for the proposition from attribution theory that people take into account what they perceive to be the cause of a problem in weighing their preferred solutions.[13] The results also give some support to the validity of the attribution measures.

Interpersonal Communication

The second research question and set of hypotheses asked whether there would be some relationship between attributions respondents make regarding Vietnam veterans' problems and the extent to which they discuss military experiences with close friends or relatives who are U.S. military veterans who served in Vietnam during the Vietnam War. Multiple regression analyses (Table 4) indicate that, for the entire sample, there is no support for a positive relationship (H2a) between these discussions and higher levels of external attribution, but some support (H2b) for a negative relationship between discussions

and lower levels of internal attribution for the problems facing many Vietnam veterans (beta= -.18, $p<.01$). Within the subsample groups, however, a different picture emerges. Among those with higher levels of Vietnam experience, these discussions are associated with both lower levels of internal attribution (beta=-.17, $p<.05$) and higher levels of external attribution (beta=.17, $p<.05$). Thus, there is support for H2a and H2b among the higher Vietnam experience group. Among the lower experience group, there is no relation between these discussions and internal attribution, and a negative relation between the discussions and external attribution (beta=-.26, $p<.01$).

It is possible that experiential and generational differences may be influencing either communication or some attributional outcomes. The content of discussion may be different when Vietnam veterans talk about their military experiences with those who have higher levels of Vietnam experience than when they talk with those who have lower levels of Vietnam experience. DeFazio (1975), for example, observed that Vietnam combat veterans sometimes become frustrated when discussing their experiences because they sense that the listener will not understand. Sometimes these vets remain silent, or they may speak patronizingly to non-veterans. Some veterans may also be unsure about the type of reception their experiences may receive, especially among those with lower levels of Vietnam experience. As has been observed (e.g., U.S. Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 1980; Figley and Leventman, 1980), many veterans perceived that they have received an uncaring or unfriendly reception upon their return to the United States, even from peers and friends. Therefore, veterans may not be revealing much of their experiences, in particular regarding the situations that led to their behavior, when talking with those who have lesser levels of Vietnam experience. In addition, if some veterans treat those with low Vietnam experience with some silence or a patronizing attitude, the result may be a diminishing of sympathy for the veteran, which might manifest

itself in lower levels of external attribution for problems facing Vietnam veterans among those with lower Vietnam experience who have had these discussions with Vietnam veterans. Similarities between the highly experienced and the veterans they talk with might produce the expected empathy, which could lead to lowering of internal attributions and increasing of external, based on discussions.

Mass Communication

The third research question concerned the relationship of mass media exposure, especially exposure to content that depicts Vietnam war experiences, to attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems.

In the analysis of the entire sample (Table 4), there is a positive relationship between exposure to the External/War motion pictures and external (war) attributions for problems facing Vietnam veterans (beta=.21, $p<.001$), in support of H3a. External/Home films, however, do not have a significant relationship with these external attributions. Thus, H3a is supported only in regard to External/War films. There is also a negative relationship between exposure to Internal/War movies and the external attributions (beta= -.17, $p<.05$), which is consistent with H3c. Again, however, the Internal/Home counterpart films bear no significant relationship with external attributions. Thus, H3c is supported only in regard to Internal/War films. There is no significant relationship between exposure to either External/War or External/Home films and internal attributions in the analysis of the entire sample, although exposure to External/War films does relate negatively to internal attributions among the less experienced (beta=-.17, $p<.05$). Thus, there appears to be only limited support for H3b. There is no relationship between exposure to Internal/War or Internal/Home films and internal attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems. All the significant movie relationships with attributions are among the "War" as opposed to "Home" films. Those that did occur have been

in a direction commensurate with hypotheses.

It is also noteworthy that exposure to the Vietnam-related television series relates positively to external attributions in analysis of the entire sample (beta=.15, $p<.05$). While we did not formally analyze these programs, casual observation seems to indicate that they often contain the same type of content as the External/War films, showing military personnel attempting to cope with war, and being affected by it.

General news exposure relates positively to internal attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems (beta=.22, $p<.001$). This relationship carries across both the low and high experience groups. Since this exposure measure is for general national news, it is not necesarily news related to the Vietnam War and its veterans. Nonetheless, this relationship would suggest that a content analysis could be conducted to determine the extent to which the news carries information about the various factors (internal and external) that can affect some veterans of the Vietnam war. It is possible that the difficulty in perceiving external attributions for others' behaviors affects news reporters as well, so that news reports may tend to dwell on actors causing events rather than on interpretations which present information about situational (external) forces that can affect human behavior. Some reporters and editors might also disfavor such situational information, as it could complicate the gathering of news as well as the simplicity of its presentation.

Experience

The fourth research question concerned the effects of personal experience on relationships between Vietnam-related media exposure and attributions. While we expected (H4) that these relationships would be stronger among those with less experience, the results are inconclusive. Of three relationships between Vietnam-related media (films and television series), two are among the less experienced, and one (a relatively strong relationship between exposure to

External/War movies and external attributions, beta=.32, $p<.001$) among the more experienced. Even the news exposure measure, as noted, relates about equally to internal attributions across both experience groups, although the relationship is slightly stronger among the less experienced. Thus, there is no strong evidence to support the proposition of stronger mass media relationships with attributions among the less experienced in this analysis.

The relationships of exposure to Vietnam-related films and television series to attributions for Vietnam veteran problems may represent an interaction between media content characteristics and different processes in the development of attributional schemata for those with lower levels of experience as compared to those with higher levels. Kelley (1973) proposes two systematic processes for the development of attributional inferences: covariation and configuration. In covariation processes, observers attribute an effect, through multiple observations, to one of its possible causes with which it covaries over time. In configuration processes, observers respond to a set of conditions present at a given time, taking into account the configuration of factors that are plausible causes for an observed effect. Generally, fruitful use of configuration processes requires that the observer have a mature, established repertoire of schemata related to the interaction of causal factors.

Generally, processing of attributional information from an ongoing television series is more likely to involve covariation processing, since the same characters are observed repeatedly dealing with different plot situations over time. Processing of attributional information from a movie is more likely to involve configuration processing, since exposure may occur just once, or if it occurs more than once, the plot is the same. If a person sees more than one film of a genre, he or she will see different characters encountering war situations, but the number of incidents observed will likely be less than for a television series. Given that the development of external, as compared to in-

ternal, attributions for others' behavior appears to be the more difficult cognitive task, the interaction between experience and media exposure characteristics should be more pronounced in regard to external attributions.

Among the Vietnam films and television series, exposure to External/War motion pictures seems to have the strongest relationships with attributions both overall and within the high and low experience groups. Exposure to these movies relates negatively to internal attributions among those with less Vietnam experience (beta=-.17, $p<.05$), and more strongly and positively with external attributions among those with more experience (beta=.32, $p<.001$). Exposure to the television series relates positively to external attributions among the less experienced (beta=.22, $p<.05$). While the Internal/War films have, as noted, a slight negative relationship with external attributions for the entire sample, the relationships within the groups are neither statistically significant nor different. These results are consistent with the proposition that the development of external attributions from motion pictures more likely requires configurational processing, which demands that the observers have more mature schema, in this case established from higher levels of Vietnam related experience. These more highly experienced viewers do not decrease the internal attributions they hold for Vietnam veterans' problems, which probably means that they have developed a more complex set of attributional schemata that do not, in the face of these movies, discount there also being some internal attributions for these problems. (See Leddo et al., 1984.) Less experienced viewers of the External/War films do decrease their internal attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems, but do not significantly develop the more difficult external attributions through films. They do, however, cultivate external attributions through regular viewing of Vietnam-related television series, which suggests the development of these causal inferences through covariation processes among those with less mature schemata.

The characteristics of the External/War films may have been responsible for their stronger relationships with the attributions viewers made regarding problems of Vietnam veterans. In particular, the demonstration of change in the main character from before to after a Vietnam war ordeal seems highly compatible with causal reasoning. The greater perceived realism of the External/War genre probably also contributed, as did the greater typicality of the characters, which might have affected the extent to which some viewers identified with the character or at least saw the character as a member of the ingroup (if the viewer is of the same generation). The reason that the War type movies had more relationships with attributions than did the Home type movies may be that both types of War movies explicitly depicted war ordeals. It may have been too difficult for most viewers to infer from most of the Home type movies not only the war ordeal, but the type of person the main character had been prior to the war experience. Thus, it may have been very hard to differentiate the extent to which the Home type movie characters' behavior was due to external (war) causes, or due to internal (dispositional) factors.

Other Relationships

Vietnam experience (Table 4) has no direct relationship with internal or external attributions for the problems many Vietnam veterans face. Education, sex, and political philosophy are, similarly, unrelated to these attributions. There is some negative relationship between income and external attributions in the overall sample (beta=-.15, $p<.05$) and among the higher experienced (beta=-.18, $p<.05$). Lower income respondents, especially those with higher levels of Vietnam experience, might be empathizing more with Vietnam veterans, as suggested previously.

CONCLUSION

We have investigated processes related to "causal communication," the communication of attribution-related information. In doing so, we have attempted to further extend attribution research to social interaction and communication processes outside the laboratory.

The measure of internal and external attributions for problems of Vietnam veterans seems reliable and valid, although there is always room for improvement. Improved reliability for some of the other measures in our study would likely have strengthened the coefficients of association we observed between attribution and the communication and control variables. Nonetheless, the results we found were generally consistent with attribution theory, as extended to a social context.

First, attributions for the cause of a problem do seem related to preferred solutions. In this case, those who attribute the problems some Vietnam vets face to external (war-related) factors are more likely to favor more government assistance for Vietnam veterans. Relationships such as this have implications for public opinion and political communication research.

Secondly, it appears that interpersonal communication could be affecting attributions. In our study, discussions with close friends or relatives who are Vietnam veterans correlated with lower internal and higher external attributions for the problems facing some Vietnam veterans, but essentially among those with higher levels of Vietnam-related experience. These results suggest that further research could be conducted into factors such as empathy, perceived similarity, and communicative expectations (e.g., how will the other person interpret and react to what I say?) as contingencies for the relationship between communication and attributions. Aspects of self-presentation (Harvey and Weary, 1983; Orvis et al., 1976) can also be investigated in this context.

Third, mass communication may also be affecting attributional schemata under certain circumstances. In our study, it appears that exposure to films that, in particular, clearly demonstrate before-to-after change in individuals dealing with the ordeals of war relates to higher levels of external attribution for Vietnam veterans' problems in some viewers (especially the more highly Vietnam-experienced) and lower levels of internal attributions in others (the less experienced). Viewing of television series such as Tour of Duty and especially M*A*S*H also relate to higher external attributions among those with less experience. Films that tend to show somewhat more traditional war heroes (war films with high internal attribution content) relate somewhat negatively to external attributions for Vietnam veterans' problems. Further research could investigate and sort out the possible impact of content dimensions such as demonstration of change and typicality of the characters (which could affect audience identification or interact with stereotyping or "ingroup-outgroup" perceptions) on attributional processes. Further attributional content analysis of news seems warranted.

Fourth, the impact of experience on media relationships with attributions was more complex than anticipated. There appear to be interactions between levels of schemata development and processing of content with different presentational characteristics which need to be explored further. In addition, there may still be enough uncertainty about how to deal with the memory of the Vietnam War, and with its veterans, that even the more experienced might still be seeking attributions. In fact, this seeking might even be the highest among those who were affected the most by the Vietnam War. Thus, the situation may still be ripe for some mass media influence.

Finally, more research might be conducted into the relationships among stereotypes, perceptions of "outgroups," and the tendency to attribute failures or problems of members of these groups to internal factors. Changes in these cognitions might be related to longer term social change. For example, during the Vietnam War, the unpopularity of the war appears to have been transferred to those who fought it (Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 1972). After the war, the public appears to have become much more accepting of these veterans (Committee on Veterans' Affairs, 1980). While attributional data are not available for a direct comparison, it is possible that public attributions for the problems facing many Vietnam veterans may have become more external as the veterans were perceived as more accepted members of society, or at least of their generation. Stereotypes, according to theory, may have also dissipated. Media depictions of Vietnam veterans as more typical members of their generation may reflect or augment this process.

NOTES

1. Other seminal contributors to the field include Jones and Davis (1965), Bem (1972), and Kelley (1972, 1973). More recent reviews can be found in Harvey et al. (1976, 1978, 1981), Harvey and Weary (1984), Ross and Fletcher (1985), and Folkes (1988).

2. In research on children, Reeves and Garramone (1983) have proposed that exposure to television characterizations can prime personality traits among viewers, and affect the way viewers judge people in real life.

3. This assumes that relatives or close friends are more likely than casual friends or strangers to talk about true experiences.

4. The formula is: Theta=(N/N-1) (1-1/L), where N equals the number of items in the factor analysis and L equals the largest (first) eigenvalue.

5. A six-position scale of self-reported social class was also included in the survey. This scale was employed to estimate income for those who refused to answer the income question. Estimates were mean income values for each position on the social class scale.

6. This age range is the same as that defined as the Vietnam Generation by the Harris organization (Committee on Veterans' Affairs 1980), except that two years were added to the older end of the scale to include those 21 years old (and perhaps near graduating from college) in 1964.

7. The scale is: 0-no military experience, and no close friends or relatives who served in the military during the Vietnam war (Vietnam Era veterans); 1-no military experience, but with a close friend or relative who is a Vietnam Era veteran; 2-no military experience, but with a close friend or relative who served in Vietnam; 3-military veteran, but not during a time of war or military conflict; 4-military veteran during time of war or military conflict other than Vietnam; 5-Vietnam Era veteran; 6-veteran who served in Vietnam; 7-Vietnam combat veteran.

8. The decision to combine the measures into a single measure was made retroactively, after assessing results with dependent measures. The combined measure tended to account for slightly more variance than either measure separately, despite the low reliability of the measure. Generally, M*A*S*H tended to correlate more strongly than did Tour of Duty with dependent measures which showed a statistically significant relationship with the combined measure.

9. Measurement could be augmented by another item that asks respondents how often they talk about military experiences with any other Vietnam veterans that they may meet.

10. Higher viewership films were chosen so that variance could be maximized. One film originally in the list given respondents, "Taxi Driver," was removed from analysis because two coders agreed that the film had very little relationship with the Vietnam War. A factor analysis of exposure to the 13 more popular films produces four factors. The primary loading films on two of the factors are the same as those that presently compose two dimensions in this analysis: External/War and External/Home. Of the remaining two factors, one is primarily composed of the Missing in Action series and the two "Rambo" films. The other is composed primarily of Apocalypse Now, The Deer Hunter, and The Green Berets. The factor analysis produced scales with reliability (theta) of .83. After much deliberation, it was decided to use the present set of scales rather than the factor-based scales, so that measurement of internal/external chacteristics and their expected relationships to dependent variables could be more direct.

11. Coders agreed which character in each film would be considered the main character, due primarily to time on the screen.

12. Factor analysis indicates that the External/War films are one dimension. The Internal/War films have two factors underlying them, although the second factor is of relatively small value and consists of high loadings for "The Green Berets" and "Apocalypse Now." Since the Internal/War dimension has a relatively good alpha of .79, it was decided to leave the scale as one dimension for purposes of parsimony. Given the situation of two categories with only two films, and the second factor in the Internal/War category, it was also decided to use a simple summated/averaged measure for each for each of the four film categories.

13. Attributional thinking is also indicated by the relationships that the two variables dealing with government aid have with another measure used in the survey, in which respondents agree or disagree with a statement that the Vietnam veteran is responsible for the way the Vietnam war turned out. Agreement (measured on a 5-point Likert scale) is associated negatively with favoring more government help for Vietnam veterans ($r=-.21$, $p<.001$) and positively, although weakly, with their attitude that Vietnam veterans should be doing more to help themselves ($r=.09$, $p<.05$).

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Table 1

Factor Analysis of Attribution Items

Variable	Mean	Factor Loadings: Factor 1 Internal	Factor 2 External	
Internal attribution for:				
Family problems with spouse	1.7	.87	.06	
Mental or emotional problems	1.7	.83	-.01	
Problems with drugs or alcohol	1.8	.83	.05	
Problems keeping a job	1.7	.79	.17	
Problems finding a job	1.7	.76	.09	
External attribution for:				
Mental or emotional problems	2.4	.06	.86	
Family problems with spouse	2.0	.13	.82	
Problems with drugs or alcohol	2.2	.06	.82	
Problems keeping a job	1.8	.07	.82	
Problems finding a job	1.8	.04	.72	
Eigenvalue:		3.9	2.8	
Percent of variance accounted for:		39.4	27.6	67.0

Reliability of factor scales: Theta=.83

Principal components analysis.
Varimax rotation.

Scale: 3=a lot; 2=some; 1=a little; 0=not at all.

N=340

Table 2
Exposure and Content Characteristics
of 13 More Popular, Vietnam-War Related Motion Pictures
(Respondent-Based and Coder-Generated Measures)

	Respondent-Based (re Film)		Coder-Generated (re Main Character)		
Motion Picture:	Exposure	Perc'v'd Realism	External-Internal	Change	Typicality
[Scale range]:	[0-2]	[0-2]	[-5-+5]	[0-5]	[0-5]
External/War:					
Platoon (1986)	0.64	1.73	+3.0	5.0	5.0
Good Morning, Vietnam (1987)	0.34	1.14	+2.0	3.0	3.0
Full Metal Jacket (1987)	0.14	1.66	+3.0	4.0	4.0
(Means):	(0.37)	(1.51)	(+2.7)	(4.0)	(4.0)
External/Home:					
Heroes (1977)	0.20	0.97	+1.0	0.0	2.0
Coming Home (1978)	0.53	1.05	+3.5	1.0	2.5
(Means):	(0.37)	(1.26)	(+2.3)	(0.5)	(2.3)
Internal/War:					
The Green Berets (1968)	0.49	0.84	-2.0	1.0	1.0
Apocalypse Now (1979)	0.84	1.11	-0.5	3.0	2.5
Missing in Action (1984)	0.58	0.62	-2.5	0.5	0.5
Missing in Action II: The Beginning (1985)	0.38	0.38	-1.5	1.5	2.0
Rambo: First Blood Part II (1985)	0.66	0.32	-2.5	1.0	1.0
Braddock: Missing in Action III (1988)	0.55	0.55	-1.0	1.0	1.0
(Means):	(0.52)	(0.64)	(-1.7)	(1.3)	(1.3)
Internal/Home:					
The Deer Hunter (1978)	0.60	1.30	-1.5	3.0	2.5
First Blood (1982)	0.78	0.34	-0.5	0.5	1.5
(Means):	(0.69)	(0.82)	(-1.0)	(1.8)	(2.0)

Table 3

Relationship of Attribution for Vietnam Veterans' Problems
with Attitudes Regarding Further Government Help for Vietnam Veterans

(Pearson r)

	Problem Attributions	
	Internal	External
More Government Help for Vietnam Veterans (a)	.02	.36***
Vietnam Vets Should Help Themselves More (b)	.11*	-.12*
n=	328	328

Significance key: * p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001

(a) Item reads: "The Federal Government should be doing more to help veterans of the Vietnam War."
(b) Item reads: "Vietnam veterans should be doing more to help themselves." Pearson r with item above (a)= -.11, p<.05.

Response scale for two above items: 5=strongly agree; 4=agree; 3=feel neutral; 2=disagree; 1=strongly disagree.

Table 4

Multiple Regression
of Internal and External Attribution for Vietnam Veterans' Problems
on Control and Communication Variables
by Vietnam Experience
(Betas)

	Internal Attribution			External Attribution		
		Experience:			Experience:	
Variable:	All	Low	High	All	Low	High
Vietnam Experience	.08	.02	.07	.04	.12	.06
Education	.07	.11	.07	.06	.07	.02
Income	-.01	.01	-.01	-.15a	-.12	-.18a
Political Philosophy	.02	.03	.01	-.08	-.01	-.09
Sex (M=0, F=1)	.07	.02	.09	.03	-.01	.08
[R Square]	[.01]	[.02]	[.01]	[.04]	[.03]	[.05]
News Exposure	.22c	.23b	.20a	.06	-.01	.09
[R Square]	[.06a]	[.09]	[.04]	[.04]	[.04]	[.06]
Exposure to Television Series	.09	.13	.03	.15a	.22a	.12
[R Square]	[.06a]	[.09]	[.05]	[.06a]	[.06]	[.07]
Discussions with Vietnam Veterans	-.18b	-.10	-.17a	-.01	-.26b	.17
[R Square]	[.09c]	[.10]	[.09]	[.06a]	[.12a]	[.11]
Vietnam Film Exposure:						
External/ War	-.10	-.17a	-.02	.21c	.08	.32c
Home	-.02	.05	-.13	-.06	-.06	-.09
Internal/ War	.10	-.01	.19	-.17a	-.11	-.19
Home	.00	-.02	.07	.06	.07	.04
Multiple R:	.32b	.37	.36	.32b	.36	.44b
R Square:	[.10b]	[.13]	[.13]	[.10b]	[.13]	[.19b]
N=	273	140	133	273	140	133

Multiple regression is hierarchical, with blocks of variables entered in the following order:

1) Vietnam experience, education, income, political philosophy, sex;
2) News exposure;
3) Exposure to television series (M*A*S*H, Tour of Duty);
4) Discussions with Vietnam Veterans who are close friends or relatives;
5) The four film exposure variables.

Significance Key: a: $p<.05$
b: $p<.01$
c: $p<.001$